

REMARKS
ON THE
CRAFTSMAN'S
VINDICATION
OF HIS

Two Hon^{ble} PATRONS,

In his PAPER of *May 22. 1731.*

Par Nobile Fratrum.

** To this EDITION is added the entire
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REMARKS

O N T H E

Craftsman's Vindication.



THE *Mask is indeed taken off.* The CRAFTSMAN hath openly avowed the Conduct of the late Lord B——ke: The vindictive and merciless Hand, whose flaming Zeal against *all* wicked *Ministers* hath so long pointed the Dagger at another Gentleman's Breast, hath so long threaten'd the Axe to that Minister's Head, and solemnly sworn to pursue him even to Destruction: This *Roman-spirited Patriot*, as he *modestly* affects to call himself; even HE! with astonishing Meekness, espouses the Cause, and vindicates the Character of a Person attainted of *High Treason*: A Person, who by his own Confession, *fled from the Justice of his Country*; and who, by the Confession of his *trusty Advocate*, *enlisted himself in the Service of the* PRETENDER.

This is the Man opposed to the Person whom *two succeeding Princes* have honoured with their Favour, and trusted with their Power. Since then this *upright Gentleman* who now is Candidate for that Grace and Trust; hath, by his ingenious Advocate, offered himself to the Trial of his Country; since he puts his Honour upon their Examination; since he *insolently* challenges all Mankind to prove that Guilt against his Character, for which he fled the Kingdom, and forfeited his Honours: Let us therefore accept this Challenge; let us examine that *weak, that foolish and slavish* Defence which the *Craftsman* hath given in his Name.

It is said, *That they who would have declined a Contest with him, whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, have not blushed to declaim against him in another Condition.* Ridiculous and trifling Pretence! Whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, why did he not answer? Who disabled him to answer? Who changed his Condition but himself? Who declined the Contest but himself? Who abandon'd the Trial but himself? He first ignominiously flies from publick Justice; he then pretends, that his Accusers would never have met him at that Bar: Which, had it been his real Opinion, guilty as he was, he would not have fled; and had he been innocent, though his Accusers would have met him, yet he would have stood the Charge. How monstrous is that Defence, where a Man pretends himself to

to have been conscious of his Integrity, and fearless of his Accusers, yet at the same time run away from his Trial, and dared not abide the Test of a National Enquiry?

It is also said, impudently said, *That his Accusers have experienced in his Case, that the Unfortunate are not Friendless; that likewise they may live perhaps to experience in their own, that the Guilty are so.* Little is this to be feared by any Man alive, when so much Guilt as fell to his Share hath not excluded him from Friendship. If *Corruption*, if *Breach of Trust*, if *Breach of National Faith*, if *High Treason* itself; the first charged upon him by his Friend the *late Earl of Oxford*, in an Instance of more than *twenty thousand Pounds*, of which the Publick was plunder'd; and the others all confessed by his shameful Flight: If these then have not left him *friendless*, I know not who can ever despair of *Friendship*.

But who have been this worthy Person's Friends, set aside the common Ties of Blood, and such Alliances, which will often continue, notwithstanding any Crimes, or any Condemnation: Set these aside, we shall easily marshal this *unfortunate* Minister's Friends: We shall find them in the *Pretender's Court* Abroad, in the *dark Cabals* of *Jacobites* at Home: We shall find them among *discarded* Statesmen, disappointed *Whigs*, ambitious *Malecontents*, and *veteran Tories*; who from a Sympathy of Nature, and Conformity of Principles; who from concurring Circumstances and Designs, have
honour.

honoured him with a Friendship, which none of his *warmest* Enemies have any Cause to envy, and which I am sure the *lowest* of them would heartily be ashamed of.

Other Advantages *heavily* complained of, as taken against this Gentleman, arise from
 “ the various Scenes of Life through which
 “ he hath passed; some *distant* in Place,
 “ some *secret* in their Nature. Here Calum-
 “ ny, *saith his candid Friend*, hath more
 “ Room to assert, and Innocence less Op-
 “ portunity to defend: Common Honesty,
 “ *they tell us*, in some Cases, and even De-
 “ cency in others, shut the Mouth of the
 “ Man who carries these Qualities about
 “ him, and even more in *his own Cause*
 “ than in that of another Person: But Ca-
 “ lumny is subject to none of these Controuls;
 “ and we speak of our own Knowledge,
 “ *say the well informed Authors of the*
 “ *Craftsman*, when we affirm, that in the
 “ present Case the false Imputations which
 “ the Accusers bring, are screen’d from ab-
 “ solute Detection by nothing but the *Honour*
 “ of the *Accused*.”

What poor and contemptible Sophistry have we before us! Here are Writers complaining of Hardships done to a Gentleman by Enquiries into the various Scenes of his Life, some distant in Place, some secret in their Nature: Shall they then complain of this, whilst they torture another Gentleman’s Actions in the most cruel and merciless manner? What Distance of Time or Place,

Place, what Privacy or Intricacy of Transactions, have ever moved their Candor, have ever restrained their Calumnies? And shall they insist upon better Terms for the Character of one whom they acknowledge to have been a *Traitor to his Country*, and an *Agent of the Pretender*, than ever they would allow a faithful Servant of the Prince on the Throne, to a Person eminently trusted in the Councils of the Crown?

Common Honesty and Decency, it is said, shut the Mouth of this *unfortunate* Minister; and they affirm, that his Honour screens the Charge against him from absolute Detection. Prodigious! Did ever Honesty or Decency shut the Mouth of Innocence? Did ever Honour basely submit to Infamy? Shame and Guilt are only silent in the Day of Enquiry: Conscious Honesty is open; nor Decency or Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation.

They then take notice of some of the Crimes alledged against this Gentleman; and heinous Crimes the *Craftsman* allows them to be, if they are true. Let us hear him explain away his Charge: He merits all our Attention.

HIS INGRATITUDE and *Treachery* to the late Duke of MARLBOROUGH and the Earl of Godolphin, stand first in the Roll. How then is this Point cleared? Why, the *Craftsman* says, he believes, "That no Man acknowledges *more sincerely* than this Gentleman, the *superior Merit* of those two
" *illustri-*

“ *illustrious Ministers*, or wishes more ar-
 “ dently that they were now alive, and had
 “ the Conduct of the Affairs of *Great Bri-*
 “ *tain.*” But the *Craftsman* says, “ that he
 “ knows no Obligation of *Gratitude* or *Ho-*
 “ *nour* which he lay under to continue in
 “ that Administration, when the Measures
 “ of it were *alter’d.* Tho’ those illustrious
 “ Ministers might have *very good Reasons* for
 “ altering their Measures, he could have
 “ none in Point of *Honour*, whatever he
 “ might have had in Point of *Interest*, for
 “ complying with that *Alteration.* Some of
 “ the Enemies of this Gentleman, *it is said,*
 “ came into the World on such a Foot, that
 “ they might think it Preferment to be
 “ *Creatures* of any Men in Power: He, who
 “ came into it upon another Foot, was the
 “ *Friend*, but not the *Creature*, of those
 “ great Men; and had, *as they falsely assert,*
 “ the Satisfaction of proving himself such
 “ on several Occasions; and without Osten-
 “ tation, at least to *one* of them, at a Time
 “ when the *Creatures* of great Men usually
 “ renounce them, at a time when they could
 “ do him neither Good nor Hurt.”

How just and faithful this Narrative really is, will immediately be seen.

In the first place, the Fact on which the
 whole Defence is grounded, is a Falshood of
 the most glaring Nature; namely, That the
 D. of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godol-*
phin ALTERED their Measures: For it is a
 Fact of the greatest Notoriety, all Men know
 it,

it, and none can deny it, that their Administration was uniform; the War they carried on was to recover the Liberties of *Europe*, and the Peace they laboured to establish, was such as might secure those common Liberties. This they never departed from, and their Plan was never varied. To say then that *they altered* their Measures, when those Measures were always the same, *till this Gentleman came to Court in Opposition to them*, is a false and scandalous Libel on these *illustrious* Ministers, but no Defence of this *very honest* Gentleman.

If the Charge of INGRATITUDE against this Gentleman had no more in it than merely his Difference in Opinion with those great Men, his Weakness and Vanity might have been reflected on; but perhaps no Man would ever have imputed to him his different Opinion as criminal. He might differ with them *lawfully*, and yet most *unreasonably* at the same time; but however *unreasonable* or *absurd* his Opinion might be, none would have called it *Ingratitude*.

Here then is the *low* Artifice, and the *poor* Sophistry of his *disingenuous* Advocate, who wilfully mistakes the Charge of Ingratitude *merely* to consist in his *Opposition* to those Ministers, and not in the *Circumstances of that Opposition*, which was carried on by the most *barbarous* and *crul* DEFAMATION that ever any Minister suffered; by the most *venemous*, *malicious* *Invectives* that the Vengeance of Hell could inspire; by *Weekly*

Libels ushered into the World; by an *insolent* Letter of HIS OWN writing, address'd to the Author of the *Examiner*, and dispersed by his own Authority all over the Kingdom: *Libels* assisted with *his own* Pen, and encouraged by *his own* Bounty, wherein the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin*, were treated as infamous *Parricides* and *Plunderers*; wherein they were also pointed out to all their Countrymen, as the *worst Enemies* of their Country; wherein no *Variety of Scenes* in their Lives, no *Distance of Place*, nor *Secrecy of Affairs*, were ever candidly considered; but their *private Life*, their *domestick Peace*, were invaded. The Earl of *Godolphin* was insulted, not only in *his Fall*, but even in *his Hour of Death*, and denied the *Privilege of Rest* in the Grave. The Duke of *Marlborough* likewise was defamed in his *Absence*, for neither *Absence* nor *Death* were considered; all Advantages were taken against these *great Ministers*, all Slanders uttered against them, notwithstanding that this Gentleman owns that he hath such *high Opinions* of their *superior Worth*, and such *ardent Wishes* that they were *now in Power*; in which Case he would as surely attempt *their Destruction*, as the *Jews* would attempt to crucify *their Saviour*, should he reveal himself again.

If then this *unfortunate* Lord, or his Friends, would clear him of the Charge relating to the Duke of *Marlborough* and the
Earl

Earl of Godolphin, neither he nor they have any need to prove that he had a *Right* to oppose them, but that the DEFAMATION of their Persons was an Act of GRATITUDE in one who owns his *Obligations to their Friendship*.

It would have been very obliging, had they told us wherein he *proved* himself to be their *Friend* at a time when their Creatures renounced them. Was he the Duke of Marlborough's Friend, when he promoted and carried on that *Censure* against him in the *House of Commons*, or that *Prosecution* in the *Court of Exchequer*, which were so injurious to his *superior Worth*? Was he the Duke of Marlborough's Friend, when he so *gratefully* opposed and disapproved the *Pass*, which his Grace desired to go into *Flanders*, merely for his private Convenience? Was he the *Earl of Godolphin's Friend*, when he so zealously carried on that Charge in the *House of Commons*; a Charge of *notorious Breach of Trust, and high Injustice to the Nation, in suffering Thirty-five Millions Sterling of the publick Money to remain unaccounted for*? Was he the Earl of Godolphin's Friend, when he joined in this *infamous Vote* against him; and *condemned* him even *without seeing* that Evidence which the House had called for, and which, when it came before them, was a full Justification of those Persons whom they thought it necessary first to *hang*, and then to *try*? Were these *Acts of Friendship* to those Noble

Lords? These the Proofs of *Gratitude* given them, when *their Creatures* deserted them?

It is said, "That *he came into the World*
 " *on another Foot than some Gentlemen,*"
 who heartily *despise* the *dirty* Insinuation.
 It is also said, "that he was not the *Creature*
 " of these Ministers, whilst others might
 " think it high Preferment to be so." If to
 be the Creature of Ministers, is to serve
 them *faithfully* in their Power, and defend
 them *zealously* in their Disgrace; If to ad-
 here to them in *all their Fortunes*, and to
 do them Justice in *their Fall* against all the
corrupt Temptations which *their Enemies*
 could offer: If this is to be the Creature of
 Ministers, the whole Creation cannot pro-
 duce a *fairer*, or a *worthier* Character. But
 if to serve them for *mercenary* Views, and
sordid Interests; if to desert them, because
 they did not gratify these, as indeed who
 can gratify *insatiable* Avarice, or *restless*
 Ambition? if to *supplant* their Power by
 the *vilest* Arts, and insult their Persons with
 the most *groveling Malice*; if to DEFAME
 their *illustrious* Characters; if to deny their
superior Worth: if to condemn them *with-*
out any Evidence, and *against all Justice*;
 if this is the Part of a FRIEND, and not of
 a *Creature*, the late *Lord B*—— then was
 such to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to
 the Earl of *Godolphin*.

" That he came to Court on the Call of
 " the late Queen, in Opposition to them;
 " and exerted himself in her Service, when
 " they

“ they served her no longer, will not (says
 “ the *Craftsman*) be objected against him by
 “ any Man, who thinks *more Allegiance* due
 “ to the *Prince* than to the Minister.” But
 the *Craftsman* knows, and wickedly evades
 the Truth, That *this Gentleman* came to
 Court without her Majesty’s Call, and came
 there *only* to oppose her Ministers: That they
 served her faithfully, to her own Glory, and
 the Good of her People, with the Approba-
 tion of the Queen, and with the Applause of
 the Nation, till *he* and *others*, by base and
 treacherous Arts, supplanted them in her
 Favour; succeeding to the great Offices of
 State, by imposing on her Understanding,
 and not in *pure Obedience* to her Commands.
 All this was done, whilst the Duke of *Marl-*
borough was *actually* in her Service, and
 would have served her still, with the same
 Advantage to the Nation: But *this Gentle-*
man was restless, till that *Immortal Man*
 was dismiss’d her Service, tho’ then in the
 full *Career of Success*; and by *this Mini-*
ster’s Means the *Royal Hand* was prostituted
 to disgrace that *Great and Invincible* Gene-
 ral. We shall ever make the just Distinction
 between *Princes* and their *Ministers*.
 Some Princes there undoubtedly are, whose
 Judgments and Opinions ought to have a
 much greater Deference than those of their
 Ministers; but with the highest Reverence to
 the Throne, and to the Rights of Monar-
 chy, with all possible Tendernefs to the late
 Queen *Anne*, and to her *pious* Memory, I
 will

will be so free as to assert, That the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin* understood the Interests of this Nation better than ever that Princess could at any time be supposed to do; and that those *Illustrious Persons* discharged their Trusts more faithfully and more honourably than those whom she *suffered* to supplant them. Let the *Craftsman* deny it, if he pleases; the rest of the World are sufficiently satisfied.

“ This Gentleman (says the *Craftsman*)
 “ had no *Patron*, or *Patroness*, but the late
 “ *Queen*.” The *Craftsman* knows it to be
 utterly false: He knows that this Gentleman
 would never have been re-admitted to her
 Councils, but thro’ the late Earl of *Oxford’s*
 Influence; nor made her *Principal Secretary of State*, but with that *Great Favourite’s*
 Choice and Approbation. All the World
 have seen *that Lord’s Memorial to the*
Queen, wherein he charges this Gentleman
 with having *listed Parties for himself among*
the Members of the House of Commons;
 wherein he also observes to her *all those Factions*
and Divisions which Lord B. had raised
in her Councils, to make himself Chief in
Authority; wherein he likewise observes, *that*
Lord B. was sent to France, merely to give
Time and Leisure for composing those Differences;
 wherein he farther instances his
 Rage against him for opposing the Voyage to
 Canada; by which he says Lord B. actually
 CHEATED the Publick of above Twenty
 Thousand Pounds. And thro’ the whole
 Course

Course of that Memorial, it may be seen, that Lord B. was in *fierce* Opposition against him, and zealously bent to *disgrace* him. To say that he neither *projected*, or *procured* this *Disgrace*, is therefore apparently false. To suggest that he knew not that the Earl's Disgrace was resolved on, till the Queen told it him, is *idle* and *foolish*, a silly, *Jesuitical* Evasion; for who could tell him *sooner* than the *Queen*? And how could she tell him her Resolution before she made one? That he had *Obligations* to the Earl of *Oxford*, is apparent from his Advancement; for he came into Power in Conjunction with that Noble Lord, and by the Means of his *Friendship*. What his *Gratitude* was in Return appears likewise from the *Noble Earl's* *Overtthrow*. This is certain, that there hath been no Minister, or Administration, since this Gentleman came into the World; whose Person and Measures he hath not distressed, to have a Share in their Power; and afterwards, when he obtained a Share, it hath always been seen, that he constantly renewed the same fierce Opposition, that he might become *Supreme Director* of *Affairs*, and engross *all that Power*, which he never would suffer to be easy in the Hands of *other Men*, however *deserving* of the Publick, or however *kind* to himself.

The *Craftsman* then comes to this Gentleman's Behaviour in His late *Majesty's* Time; whose Mercy, he says, was *unmasked* and *unearned*. That it was *unearned*, is probable

bable enough; that it was *unasked*, is a downright Falshood: For by the *Journal-Book* of the *House of Commons*, *Tuesday* the 20th of *April* 1725, which is at this time before me, it appears that the House was acquainted, by His late Majesty's Command, "That this Gentleman had, about *Seven* " *Years* before, made his humble *Applica-* " *tion* and *Submission*, with Assurances of " *Duty*, *Allegiance* and *Fidelity*; which " His Majesty so far accepted, as to give " him Encouragement to hope for some fu- " ture Mark of His Majesty's Favour and " Goodness." Yet the *Craftsman* says, that *this Person* never *asked for Mercy*. See then what shameless *Effrontery* and *Falshood* reigns in these Gentlemen, and runs thro' their Arguments!

" What followed many Years afterwards, " *in part* of His Majesty's gracious Intenti- " ons, *the Craftsman says*, was solely due to " the *late King*; that they were not ful- " filled, was solely due to the *M——r*. His " Ambition, his causeless Jealousy, and pri- " vate Interest, continued a sort of Pro- " scription, with much *Cruelty* to the Per- " son concerned, and little Regard to the " *King's Declarations*.

To this I answer, That it is notorious, that the *Minister* here abused found it difficult enough to obtain from the *House of Commons* that Indulgence to this *attainted Lord*, which the *Craftsman* calls *but Part* of the late King's gracious Intentions; that he was
very

very much blamed both by his Friends and Enemies, for the Share he had in obtaining that Favour of the Parliament; which I may truly affirm, was an Indulgence against the Sense of the Nation: And such was the Opposition very reasonably made to it every where, that I do not believe it was in the *Power of the Crown* to have reversed the Attainder. If likewise it had been in the *Power of the Crown*, yet it would have been an *high Injustice to the Nation* to have re-admitted a Person into the *House of Peers*; who had openly been in the *Service of the Pretender*; a Person, who by the most wicked Administration in the Service of his lawful Prince, had incurred the Guilt of *High Treason*; a Person, who by enlisting himself in the *Pretender's Service*, had avowed his *Treason*, and aggravated his *Guilt*; a Person, who at *Home* sacrificed the Honour and Happiness of his Country, who *Abroad* endeavoured to overthrow its Liberties and Laws, the *Protestant Succession*, and all that was sacred in the *British Constitution*. If the *Craftsman* and his Friends could think 750 *Irish Papists* in *France* dangerous to this Establishment, could they think then it safe, had such a *Leviathan of Treason* been re-admitted in Parliament, or re-invested with Employments which he had formerly discharged with so much Corruption, Perfidiousness, Wantonness, and Iniquity? If this Gentleman's Affairs were thus circumstanced, would the Minister he complains of have been just

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or faithful to his native Country, had he counselled or advised the King to *fulfil* such Intentions or Declarations? It is a *Libel* on the late King's Memory to say that *He had such Intentions*. But, if through excessive Grace and Goodness; if through that overflowing Mercy which was so natural to his Royal Mind; if through his Abundance of tender Compassion, he had ever signified *any such Intentions*; let every *Englishman* judge, whether it would not have been highly *criminal* in any *Minister*, not to have represented to his *most sacred Majesty* the *dangerous* Tendency of such his *Intentions*. For tho' Princes may propose to pardon the *greatest Malefactor*, yet if *Mercy* to such a Man should be *Cruelty* to a Nation, what Minister dare be silent on such an Occasion, or suffer, *as far as in him lies*, the *Royal Grace* to be extended even *against the Good of the Kingdom*?

Should we consider this at the same time in the Lights of a just and reasonable *private Interest*; an Interest no way inconsistent with the general Good; should we reflect on *this Gentleman's Usage* of all the Ministers who lived in his Time; how *gratefully* he used the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin*; with what *Honour* and *good Faith* he treated the Earl of *Oxford*; how restless his Nature, how insatiable his Appetites: A Man of Sense must have thought *that Minister* infatuated, who should have consented that this Gentleman
should

should ever have Power to shew that shining Gratitude *to him* which former Ministers had so largely experienced: For the *Craftsman* owns he had *earned* no Mercy: Should any Minister then concur in such Indulgence to him, as might not only *endanger the Ministry*, but *even the Constitution*? This Minister therefore, whether he considered *himself* or *his Country*, was from common Justice to *both*, obliged to oppose the Pretension.

Surely it was a very great Indulgence that this Gentleman was *restored to the Liberty of breathing the Air of his native Country*, and of enjoying his private Fortune, when he was *deservedly exiled from the one, and had justly forfeited the other*. Could he have had this Indulgence and Favour, *without the Assistance of that Minister* against whom he is so vindictive? Has he not had more than he ever deserved? And what would he have more than this? Would he again administer the Publick, abandon its Allies, and sacrifice its Honour? Will nothing satisfy this Gentleman, but the Power which he once abused, and would again abuse? the Trust which he once betrayed, and would again betray? Humble and modest Requests! and *wicked* that Minister indeed who stands in Opposition to them!

It is said, " That the Minister just mentioned, opposed these Requests from *causeless* Jealousy. Let it be determined how

causeless that Jealousy must be, when it is considered how *moderate* this Gentleman hath been, how *quiet* and *peaceable* a Subject he is, under that Government which pardoned such Treasons, and shewed him such Mercy: *These* are Merits of which the *Volumes of the Craftsman* will ever be *precious* Memorials. If then he hath been so *fierce*, so turbulent and outrageous, as a *private Man*, was it *causeless Jealousy* to suppose that he would have been *worse* in a *publick Capacity*? Certainly *this Gentleman's* Friends are ill advised, to censure that Minister's *Jealousy*, when so much hath been done in conjunction *with themselves*, to *justify* that Jealousy. In truth, it ought not to be called *Jealousy*; it was just and fatal *Discernment*.

They own, *That this Gentleman was in the Service of the Pretender*; that he served him unfaithfully, *they say*, is false. This gives the *Chevalier* the LYE: And as I am not concerned to vindicate his Honour, so it is foreign to me. They assert, that the Gentleman never entered into *these Engagements* with the *Pretender*, or *any Commerce* with him, till *he had been attainted*, and was *cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects*. Good God! what an Excuse is here! What had the *People of England* done to this Lord, to merit this Usage? That, because he would not, or dared not stand the Judgment of his Peers, and answer the Charge of Male-administration

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committed in the highest Offices, therefore was it just or reasonable that he should *impose the* PRETENDER *upon his Country?* That because he could not *justify his Crimes*, that therefore he must *subvert our Constitution?* And not being able to *support his wicked Greatness*, must he therefore be excused in a monstrous Design to *destroy all our Liberties?* This, perhaps, was natural with him; but then it shews us how bad *his Nature* must be. And *this Defence* of his Crimes is worthy of the *Craftsman*.

Is there an Instance of *one honest Man* in the Annals of *Britain*, who ever turned himself against the National Happiness and Constitution, because he was cut off from the Body of the People, either through Mistakes in publick Affairs, or through Default to answer a publick Accusation; or, if they please to have it so, through the Violence of Times? Did *Ludlow* the *Regicide*? Did the worthy and innocent Earl of *Clarendon*, both driven out of the Kingdom? Did any Man, who had the least Share of natural Integrity, ever attempt to enslave a great People, because he could not continue to live among them? But this is the governing Principle of our *modern Patriots*, whatever Incapacities their Crimes or Demerits draw upon them; whether they are banished the Country, deny'd its Honours, or refused its Offices: This too, however justly or deservedly, they vow their Revenge immediately against the People, the Inno-

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cent and collective Body of their Countrymen; and in their Despair of gratifying their unbounded Appetites, of recovering their former Power, or engrossing all Employments, they immediately attempt the Destruction of all Mankind.

That he so readily went into the PRETENDER'S Service, shews his strong Propension to those Interests. Even in the Year 1702, he was *one* of the *Virtuous* 117, who gave *their Votes to throw out the Bill for settling the Protestant Succession* in the illustrious House of Hanover: Which shews how much his Majesty, or his Royal Family, stand obliged to *this Gentleman*; as also how much he ever was devoted to their Interests. If this is *vile Calumnation*, then the *Craftsman's* Challenge was properly made; and there is not *one Proof in the World* against his general Affirmations, notwithstanding the *numerous* Instances which have been herein produced.

They make their Appeals for the Truth of their general Affirmations, to a *Noble Lord*. If they would let us know who *this Lord* may be, or what particular Points they desire his Lordship should speak to; and if this *Great Personage* would condescend to be examined, we might perhaps obtain some useful Informations by proper Interrogatories: But at present we think it highly absurd for this Gentleman, or his Friends, to call a Witness in their Defence, who, they are certain, will never appear, or submit to
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an Examination. Equally foolish is it to make him Arbitrator for the Publick, when they are assured that he will not give the Publick any Opinion which he may form in this Case.

It is no extraordinary Presumption to imagine, that if the *Noble Lord* was to give his Opinion freely of the Gentleman who makes such solemn Appeals to his Judgment, that he would brand him with all that Infamy which his Crimes deserve. His Lordship must well remember that scandalous Negotiation carry'd on by this Minister with the late *French King* ; and that at the very Time when this Gentleman assured the *Dutch*, in the late Queen's Name, *That her Majesty was resolved, in making Peace, as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the States* ; at that very time he carried on a *separate Commerce with France*, signing with the *French Ministers private Propositions of Peace* ; in which an express Article was inserted, *That the Secret should be inviolably kept*. In Consequence of which, he was oblig'd to sacrifice the Honour of the Nation, and to comply with all the Demands of the *French*, that they might keep his *wicked Secret*, and screen him from the Justice of his Country.

This Breach of the *Grand Alliance*, this shameful Violation of the *British Faith*, was attended with an Act of *High-Treason*, as arbitrary in its Nature as ever was committed in this Kingdom: For he presumed
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to take upon him *Sovereign Authority*, and, without any Power from the Crown, met the *Agent of France*, then in open War with the Kingdom, and in that manner carried on his clandestine Negotiation: A Proceeding so fatal, that the Earl of STRAFFORD soon informed him, that the *States* had seen a Letter from M. *Torcy*, giving an Account of a *Negotiation begun in England*: By which Step the Queen was divested of all her Allies; who could no longer repose any Confidence in her *faithless* and *treacherous* Ministers: And the *British* Nation, whose Arms had been so victorious, was now entirely exposed to the *tender Mercies of France*.

To compleat this Work of Infamy, this Violation of every thing sacred among Mankind, this Gentleman, then her late Majesty's *Secretary of State*, sends *Her General*, the late Duke of *Ormond*, Orders, *not to assist the Confederates against the French Army*, then encamped near them; at the same time communicates these Orders to the Court of *France*, and opens a Correspondence between *Mareschal Villars*, and the Duke of *Ormond*, whereby his Grace "gave the common Enemy Intelligence of" "all that was designed in the Confederate" "Army." Not content with ordering the Queen's Troops to suffer that the *French Armies* should do whatever they desired against the Allies, this Gentleman insists, *that all the Foreigners in English Pay should withdraw from the Confederates, or forfeit the*

the Subsidies of Britain: The Consequence of which must have been, that Prince Eugene's Army had been infallibly cut in Pieces, and all the Empire laid open to the Arms of France. But those Foreigners were faithful, notwithstanding this Violation of the British Faith: An Act so ignominious, that the Earl of STRAFFORD wrote to Lord B—ke, on the Separation of the Troops, That all the English seemed rejoiced to march off; being weary of the Situation which they were in, and of the Reproaches they met with in the great Army. To such Disgrace did this worthy Person expose our gallant Countrymen.

The dreadful Consequences of the Separation were now sensibly felt in the unfortunate Action at *Denain*; where Mareschal *Villars* attacked Lord *Albemarle's* Camp, which he forced, took him Prisoner, and entirely defeated all the Troops under his Command: On which Occasion Mr. *Torcy* makes his Compliments to Lord B—ke, in full Perswasion *that a Victory obtained by the Queen's Enemies over her faithful Allies, must be a Pleasure to her Majesty: A Letter, which, however insolent and intolerable, Her honest Secretary not only received with Patience, but even with much Satisfaction.*

It would be endless to enumerate the Consequences of this egregious Scene of Iniquity: How Lord B—ke himself gave the *French Court special Instructions, where-*

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by they might force *Tournay* out of the Hands of the *Dutch*, whose Interests then we had in our Care, and to whom we had engaged our Honour for their Security : A Crime for which he was not only impeached, but which was likewise expressly charged on him by his Friend the late Earl of *Oxford*. We may also remember, how he *foolishly* and *stupidly* gave Orders to the *British* Minister in *Spain*, to acknowledge *King Philip's* Right to that Monarchy; the only Point which his *Catholick Majesty* laboured to obtain of *Great Britain*. An Acknowledgment, which was most wretchedly offered, before he had promised even *one Point* in Favour of the *British* Nation : An Act of Folly so fatal, that this Prince, who would have purchas'd our Recognition on any Terms, when he had gained it *for nothing at all*, refused us, in the most positive and imperious manner, even an *Inch of Ground* about the Town of *Gibraltar*; and also rejected all our Instances for our *brave* unhappy *Allies*, the *Catalans* : A People whom we had, on the Faith of our Nation, engaged in the War against *King Philip* : Nay, he insisted, and to the eternal Infamy of that Administration it was complied with, that we should turn our own perfidious Arms upon them, to compleat their *ill-deserved* Destruction. Our own *Ships of War* were commanded to force this free-spirited People, - with whom we were united in the Cause of Liberty : We did
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accordingly force them into that Slavery from which we had sworn to defend them; and when they had perished bravely and manfully, though miserably, they hung up on their *High Altar the Queen's solemn Declaration to protect them*, as a Memorial to Heaven and Earth of *British* Perfidy and Ingratitude. All this I mention for the Glory of that *worthy Gentleman*, who whilst this *poor unfortunate* People were thus delivered over to Destruction, assured the *British Nation* in the most solemn manner, *that every thing was doing for their Preservation*. This is HE, whose Cause and Character the *Craftsman* so warmly espouses; whose Counsels are the standing Measures of our present Patriots, and whose Principles are, by their united Strength, to be imposed upon the People of *Britain*.

If I add, that this Gentleman's wise Negotiations reduced him to such low Distress, that he submitted to accept of a *Renunciation* from King *Philip*, which all the *French* and *Spanish* Ministers told him, at the very time it was made, was perfectly invalid, and never could be effectual: That by his great Skill in *Treaty-making*, he suffered the *French* grossly to impose upon him in the Affair of *Newfoundland*, was forced to allow them a Share in the *British Fishery*, which they had no Pretension to; and to purchase the unworthy Terms which they agreed to, by an Article for lowering all the Duties on *French* Commodities: An Article,

which, had the Parliament complied with it, must have expos'd our *Staple Manufactures* to Ruin. If these, I say, are duly remember'd, it must be confessed that he is a most *able Master* of Negotiation, and worthy, above all Men, to act in the Councils of his Country; an Employment for which he professes so vast an Ambition.

If in the *British Parliament* he was seen so enterprizing on the *British Liberties*: If to his Piety and Justice was owing the *ever-memorable SCHISM BILL*; that *Bill*, which deprived our *Protestant Dissenters* of those Rights, which, as Men, they were born to enjoy; deprived them not only of *publick Trusts*, but even of the *private Education* of their Children: If to his Zeal for *National Freedom*, were owing those *Speeches* and *Messages*, which the late Queen made to her Parliament in the four last Years of her Reign, against the *Liberty of the Press*: If to his Love of publick Enquiries, were owing the Measures carried on in the House of Commons, and the *Grand Committee* appointed by that House to *Restrain the Press*: If these are his Merits, how worthy must he be to sit in the *British Parliament*, where he would not allow the *present KING* to sit as *Duke of Cambridge*, altho' it was his legal and undisputed Right? How wicked are they, who will not restore him to that *Peerage*, which he so highly dishonour'd, and so deservedly forfeited? Let *Englishmen* judge what an excellent Pa-
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triot he is, and how useful a Minister he would be: Let the *Noble Lord* judge for us, to whom he makes his Appeals. I dare say, that no Man hath ever more united the Opinions of all Parties than this Gentleman hath done. As none but the most *Abandon'd* think him useful, so none but the most *ignorantly Stupid* can think him honest. They who defend him, do it, not from any Impressions of his Worth, but in Vindication of themselves *for employing such a Tool*: They who would rise by his *wicked Arts*, would never raise him above his present low Condition. As they know his Treachery and Ingratitude, they bear him no Affection; they place in him no Confidence; nor will they ever make him the Partner of their Success, if they preserve the least Share of *common Sense*. However they may employ him, we all know how they mean to reward him; and perhaps it may be the only good Meaning those Gentlemen are to be charged with.

In this Disquisition I have given this *honest* Gentleman the Preference, and have considered him in the *first* Place, although the *Craftsman* introduced him *last*. This was not done by me, with any View to neglect his *Insseparable Colleague*, but from the material Difference of their respective Cases. And it must be allowed, that he who has done *most* to deserve such Acknowledgments as are in our Power to give, ought to receive them *first*.

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The *Craftsman* enters into the Charge of *cruel Revenge* and *disappointed Ambition*, so frequently objected to an HONOURABLE PATRIOT, *his Patron*. "How ridiculous (says our Author) is this Charge? and on whom can such Stuff fall? Hath he changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government? Hath he renounced the Principles of good Policy which he formerly professed?" Yes, indeed; and this I shall give my self some little Trouble to shew.

If this Gentleman was educated in *Whig* Principles, as he undoubtedly was: If the fundamental Maxim of his Education, was the Establishment of this Government in the *present Royal Family*: If this Royal Family have governed the Kingdom by the Laws, and allowed greater Liberties to the People, than ever were at any time heretofore known or enjoyed among us: If to this mighty Share of Liberty be also added that sacred and inviolable Right of Property which we enjoy; that free and unrestrained Privilege of exercising our *private Judgment* without Controul in Matters of Conscience and Religion, no ways subject to *Ecclesiastical Power*, or *spiritual Tyranny*, or *political Bigotry*: If freed from all these Impositions and Grievances, we thus enjoy all that Happiness which we ever could promise our selves from the *Protestant Succession*: If notwithstanding this, the *Honourable Gentleman* taking the Advantage of common Evils, and unavoid-

unavoidable Difficulties, arising from the various Passions and Interests of contending Princes, hath even attacked the *Royal Title* to the Crown, and invaded the *Prince on the Throne*; invaded him even in *open Parliament*, by charging him with having *Broken the Terms of the Act of Settlement*; by suggesting, I say, that *this was in Breach of that Act*; and leaving others to conclude, that as the *TERMS* were broken, *the Title forfeited, and the Throne was thereby become vacant*: If this was done by *this Gentleman*, may it not be asked, *Whether any Title in this World was ever impeached, but with a View to change the Possession?* And if this be true, he certainly and manifestly hath *changed his Notions of Right and Wrong* in Matters of Government; hath taken every little Advantage which might shake the Scepter in the Royal Hand, and render all the Happiness of *Englishmen* precarious.

If he hath gone over to the *Tories*, and suffers himself to be governed by *Veteran Jacobites*, by Men who confessedly have been in the *Pretender's Service*, and would return to it on the first Temptation or Provocation; if he *constantly* votes in *open* Conjunction with a Body of Men sworn *Enemies* to *Whigs*, to *Whig-Establishments*, and all *Whig-Principles*; if he acts in Concert with, and by the Dictates of, those who opposed the *Revolution*, distressed *King William's Government*, opposed the *Settlement of the Protestant Succession*, promoted the
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French Commerce Bill, carried the *Schism-Bill*, and for *Thirty Years* together have laboured with all their Might to impose the *Pretender* upon the *British* Nation ; if, further, he opposes the King's Affairs *in general* ; if he attempted and struggled to put off the *Common Supplies* of the present Year, and to distress the Publick Service in every Branch of the Government ; if he now condemns those very Measures which he himself once advanced, the Treaties which he voted honourable, and the Alliances which he then asserted necessary ; if notwithstanding all the Share which he hath had in the Councils of the Crown, and all the Vindications which in former Years he made of the Royal Measures, he hath lately avowed and declared, " That not *one* Treaty signed within these " *Sixteen Years*, was even made, or so much " *as intended* for the Good of this Kingdom. If this be true, *he hath departed from the Principles of good Policy which he formerly professed.* However bold the Defiance to shew this may be, it is evidently true ; and those Imputations of *Disappointment* or *Revenge*, which the *Craftsman* calls *impertinent* and *silly*, are the very best Excuses his Patron can possibly make use of.

It is said, that " If he pursues the same " *general Principles* of Conduct with which " first set out, and is in Opposition now to " *some few* of those with whom he concurred then, they have left him, because " they have left the Principles which they " pro-

“ professed: He left neither, *says this*
 “ *Writer*: For instance, *he inveighs against*
 “ publick Profusion, and private Corrup-
 “ tion, &c.

To this it may be replied, That on the above-mentioned View of his Conduct, he doth not pursue the same general Principles with which he first set out: That whilst he concurred with the Government, he never opposed either *publick Profusion*, or *private Corruption*: That he himself shared the *Bounties*, and added to the Pensions of the Crown: That there hath been no more Cause to complain of either *Corruption* or *Profusion*, since he hath opposed the Government, than there plainly was whilst he had the Honour to concur with this Ministry: That the very Day of his Patriotism may be assigned, and we can date the Hour of its Birth: That the genuine Rise of his publick Spirit was from the Corruption of *his own Heart*: That, instead of having a Spirit which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen* in the *best* Times of the Common-wealth, a *Roman Citizen* would have been ashamed of his *self-interested* Spirit, even in the *worst* of those Times: That all his *Life-time* he hath been upon Extremes; and, whilst he concurred with the Government, was as compliant to their Views, as if he had sat in the *Parliament of Paris*: Likewise, since he has opposed this Government, he hath been as unreasonably loud and vindictive against their

Measures, as if he had been a Member of the *Polish Diet*: That whatever his Vanity may be at this Time, or however his *Mercenaries* may extol him, with how great Disdain soever he may treat this Minister, or with what Licentiousness soever he may revile him; yet that there was a Time when he thought it the highest Honour, and first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of that *Great Man's* Friends, whose very Name and Character hath given him the *small Consideration* which he hath found even in *his Opposition*.

They endeavour to make the Charge on this Gentleman ridiculous, by putting it into *Syllogism*: As thus; "He assisted a Minister in his Rise to Power; he opposes this Minister in Power; *Ergo*, Spight and Resentment are his Motives." Their *Logick* is as false as their *Politicks*: The Syllogism, fairly stated, is thus: "He concurred with a Minister whilst this Minister's Power was favourable to his Wishes: He opposed this Minister when he found his Power no longer favourable to his Wishes." All the World knows the Truth of these Propositions, and hence the Certainty of the Conclusion, that *Spight and Revenge are his Motives*.

They ask, "May not the Abuse which he apprehends this Minister makes of his Power; may not Measures, which he fears are wicked, knows to be weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives?"

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What a Heap of mere *Possibilities* are here started against a *positive* Charge? Let me recite a few Questions: " Did he not expect, " and insist on a great Employment? Was " he not disappointed and refused in this Expectation and Demand? Did not his Patriotism take its Rise here? Did not his " Opposition begin from this very Fact?" Where then shall we look for Motives, but to *this Fact*? Had he been gratify'd, instead of being disappointed: Had he been comply'd with, instead of being refused, would he have *fear'd* any Wickedness, or have *found out* any Weakness in this Administration? I defy him and all his *Sophisters* to contradict me in this.

They ask, " May not *dangerous* Ambition, *insatiable* Avarice, and *insolent* Behaviour be his Provocations?" I ask, Have they not been his *Incentives*? If his Lust of Power, if his Appetite for Wealth, or if his over-bearing Spirit were *Secrets* with Mankind, I could crowd innumerable Pages with *irrefragable* Proofs.

They farther ask, " May not this Gentleman think himself the more obliged to " contribute to this Minister's Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation?" Why, really I do not undertake to determine what he may think; but if these were his Thoughts, I should think him like a *capricious* and *whimsical* Builder, who had raised so fine a Structure for another Man, that the Beauty of the House vexed

him to the Heart, and he thought himself obliged to pull it down again. If this then is the Gentleman's *Wisdom*, I wish he may long enjoy the *Renown* of it.

But I should be very glad to know wherein this *Important Person* contributed to the *Minister's Elevation*. For, If I remember rightly, this Minister brought the Gentleman into Places which he was no ways entitled to, and *when he was even more insignificant than he is at present*. To say that the *Creature* of this Minister's Greatness contributed to that Greatness, is altogether *new*, and *false in Fact*; though on both Accounts entitled to a Place in their political System.

They then ask, "Whom shall they soonest suspect to be actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*, this Gentleman, or the Minister?" The Question is not fairly, Whom we shall *suspect*? for here is a *positive* Charge. Was not the Gentleman's *Anger* actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*? Answer *This*. As to their Question, Whom shall we *soonest suspect*? Let those who consider the *sparing, scraping* Nature of the one, with the *frank, liberal* Heart of the other, fix the Charge of *sordid Views* on him, to whom they think it justly belongs.

It is next enquired, "Whose Circumstances most demanded, whose Family most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune, the Gentleman or the Minister?" Indeed, I think, if the Gentleman's Family and Circumstances required it least, his Avarice

rice is the most to be blamed. But since so much Difference between their Fortunes and Circumstances is perpetually made, I will shew the World what that Difference really is. The Gentleman possesses an enormous Estate of above *Nine Thousand Pounds per Annum*, all acquired only by a *Secretary of the Treasury*. The Minister's Estate, far from being exorbitant, was acquired in so high a Station, as at the *Head of that Treasury*, where the Gentleman's *little Possessions* were picked up by the *Secretary*; and which Possessions, he, this Gentleman, obtained the *Fee-simple* of, on *very easy* Terms, by the Favour, Indulgence, and Assistance of *that Minister*, whom he hath sworn to destroy.

They ask in another Place, "In whom have we seen *strongest* Evidence of that *vindictive* Temper, which prompts to personal Spite and Resentment." I answer, In that *meek* and *humble* Man, whose *Vows of Destruction*, whose *horrid Imprecations* and *Outrage* have been fitter for *Hockley in the Hole*, than for *St. Stephen's Chapel*: That *Christian* and *Lamb-like Patriot*, who hath been so *dutiful* to the King, so *complaisant* to the Queen, and so *religiously decent* to all the Royal Family: That original Pattern of *Humility* and *Moderation*, who has given so many *divine* Instructions to his *loving Countrymen*: It is He, this Man of *Peace* and *Patience*, upon whom I think the Charge in the Question must fall. We all know how *easy* he is under all such Accusa-

cusations. I dare say for myself, I shall draw no Instances of a *vindictive* Temper, no personal *Spite* and *Resentment* from this *kind, good-natur'd* Gentleman ; he is not used to be out of Humour, when any one tells him the Truth.

Finally, the *Craftsman* maintains, “ That there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that the Gentleman’s Opposition proceeds from the Spirit of Ambition, or a Design of pushing himself into the Administration.” And why ? *First*, he possessed the *War Office* many Years ago, which he laid down for the sake of this very Minister, who, he then supposed, would soon, from publick Necessity, come into Power again, and be able to give him a *better Place*. *Secondly*, When that *Minister* came again into Power, this Gentleman was made *Cofferer to the Household* ; which he forced the Ministers to take from him, when he would not be content with it ; but was resolved to oppose them, that he might compel them to make him *Principal Secretary of State*. These are *two of the Proofs* which his judicious Advocate gives, that this worthy Man had no Ambition or Desire to be in the Administration. Now for the *Third*, it seems that since he hath despaired of gaining upon his Majesty’s Favour, or of removing the faithful Servants of the King from the Councils of the Crown ; since he hath been sensible that it is impossible that he should ever have a Share in the Administration, or any Office

Office in the State : *I say*, Since this hath been sensibly demonstrated to him, he hath made a *solemn Vow* never to accept a Place of Trust, or a Share in the Ministry as long as he lives ; often declaring in the *House of Commons*, and publishing it now in the *Craftsman* : Thereby endeavouring to make *That* appear as his *Virtue* which is his *Fate* ; and not his Election, but his *Destiny*.

Thusst and the Proofs of his *Disinterestedness*, his *Want of Ambition*, and his *Aversion to Power*. When he struggled for *the Seals*, he lost the *Cofferer's Place*. When the *late Kind* died, he again followed the Court, and worshipped the *Rising Sun*. When the *Civil List* came to be settled, though with those *large Appointments* which he hath since *not blushed to declaim at* : When this, *I say*, was settled, dumb was his Voice, neither were there Words in his Mouth. But when the Ministry came to be settled, exclusive of his own Person, our *very flexible Patriot* again appeared with that *Inflexibility*, so worthy of a *Roman Citizen*, and yet so *very yielding*, whilst there were any Hopes of his being a *British Minister*.

Hitherto they always have constantly declined, and carefully avoided to mention or defend the Ministers employed in the *Four last Years* of the late Queen *Anne's* Reign. The *Craftsman*, in his Libel upon *Acts of Grace*, very modestly owns that he was not concerned to vindicate the late Earl of *Oxford*, or the Measures of his Administration.

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But now their Design is full-grown, and their Iniquity hath ripened to Maturity, they who were cautious to vindicate the Earl of *Oxford*, a Minister whose Character had some good Qualities, which his worst Enemies never denied, and whose Conduct had various Excuses, which Men of good Nature have always been willing to admit: Those Persons, *I say*, who have heretofore feared to enter upon *his* Defence, even they, are at length so advanced in their Schemes, that they have leaped all Bounds, have exceeded all Measures of Discretion, and have undertaken to palliate those Crimes which have ever been beyond Dispute, as they are without Example.

Whilst they so *vindictively* pursue the Person of *another Minister*, even to Destruction, for Crimes that have never been proved; and, for want of Capacity, tho' he hath triumphed for five Years together over all their Abilities, Industry and Power: Whilst they thus condemn him for Actions which themselves judged *innocent*, as also for Measures which they voted *honourable, just and necessary*; at the same time do they palliate *confessed Crimes*, and the most *notorious Corruption*, the most *wicked Minister* of our Times, and the *worst Measures* that ever were carried on in our Country.

They say, That the *Honourable Person* who is at the Head of this Faction is wonderfully happy in the Applauses of his Country. I remember an Observation which the
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Craftsman made once in the Case of a great and popular Magistrate of *London*, namely, *That many Persons, in all Ages, have enjoyed the highest Degree of Popular Favour for some time, who least of all deserved it.* But the Gentleman and his *Friends* seem to be under a very grievous Mistake in their Notions of his *present* Popularity: For his *mercenary* Nature, his *vindictive* Temper, and *boundless* Ambition, are too well understood. All Men of Sense see his *self-interested Disposition*. All Men know how ready he is to give up *what he calls* the Interest of his Country, by some Observations which every one made in the Opening of his present Majesty's Reign. All Men see how ready he is to give up his Prince, by his hasty and violent Opposition on the Settlement of the Ministry. And how eagerly disposed he is to give up the Constitution, may be seen by his intrepid Invasions of *the King*, and of the *Royal Title*. If this is *Popularity*, I leave him the Glory of it: But I can assure him, that all the *Whigs* in the Kingdom are duly sensible what these Measures tend to; and they who remember their Country in so much Distress, whilst the *Co-partner* of this virtuous Cause was a Minister, well understand what would be the Consequence, should they be able to distress the present Administration. What would be the Case of the *British Allies*, should a Person prevail among us who broke our Faith with *all our Allies*,

and gave up the Honour of his native Country in all his Negotiations? What would be the Case of the *Protestant Dissenters*, should the Patron of the *Schism-Bill* come again into the Management of Parliamentary Councils? What would be the Case of our *Merchants*, should the Projector of the *French Commerce Bill* have the Direction of our Affairs? And indeed, What would be the Case of us all, should those who boast themselves our *truest Patriots*, be no better than his *slavish Pupils*?

I have taken these Pains, to shew these Gentlemen and their Principles in the strongest Light; because I think that no Man who is an *Englishman* and a *Whig*, can honestly or patiently submit to see Persons impose themselves as such upon the *People of England*, which very Persons have forfeited and abandoned *those Characters* in every Action. I have shew'd this *altogether* from their *publick Behaviour*. I scorn to enter into *private Life*; I abhor to copy from their ever memorable PROPER REPLY, or from any of their other *Filthy Libels*, which have spared no *Family Affairs*, no *Personal Secrets*, or *Private Correspondencies*. And indeed their Practices have been so open to the World, that these Gentlemen have rendered it equally unnecessary, as it is really disagreeable to me to imitate them, in disclosing *Secret History*; as, on their *part*, they have found so little to accuse in the Publick Transactions of this Ministry, that
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from this very *Deficiency of Argument*, they have loaded their scandalous Libels with such an Abundance of *private* and *infamous* Abuse.

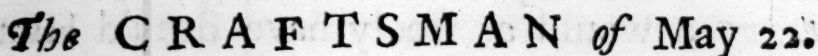
As I am now to conclude this Pamphlet, I must indulge the Pleasure of observing what a virtuous and uniform Conclusion Mr. *Oldcastle* lately hath made of his great Undertakings in the *Craftsman*. He hath, for the Course of the last Year, employed his able Pen in making *Remarks* on the History of *England*. He begun with professing a Design to raise the *Spirit of Liberty* against the Administration: He went on with libelling *all the Royal Family*, and ended with a Vindication of the late Lord B—— A noble Subject to raise a *Spirit* on! Such is that *Spirit* which acts against the Ministers: Such the *Invectives* and *Apologies* which come from these Men. In truth, I hope that they *who abuse this Ministry*, and *affront the Prince on the Throne*, will always vindicate such *honest* Men as Lord B.; for then it will no longer remain a Doubt, for *whose Sake*, and with what *Design*, such wonderful Works are carried on.

I will add *one useful* Reflection to these Remarks: That the Man who had the Impudence to oppose *His present Most Sacred Majesty*, when he demanded a *Writ of Right*; I mean the *Writ of Summons* to Parliament, lawfully due to him, in consequence of his having been created *Duke of Cambridge*; and who afterwards caused the

Elector of Hanover's Minister to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime, than having demanded that Writ: It is worthy of *such a Man*, to complain of *much Cruelty* done to himself, in being deprived of that *Peerage* which he forfeited by *High Treason*; and of that *Place in Parliament*, which he would not allow to a *Prince of the Blood*, an *Heir Apparent to the British Crown*, even our *present most Gracious Sovereign*; at the very same time too, when the Ministers poured into that House *Troops of their own Creatures*, even a *Dozen* at one Creation. An insolent, arbitrary Procedure! equally injurious to the Right of *that Illustrious Person*, and to the *Independency* of the *House of Peers*; since those who advised this *wicked Refusal*, assumed a greater Prerogative than the Crown of *Great Britain* is possessed of; namely, in secluding Peers from their Seats in Parliament by *mere Will and Pleasure*; as also in daring to determine, by *their own lawless Authority*, what Peers of this Kingdom should, or should not, sit and vote in the Great Council of the Nation. And I dare undertake to say, that however *wicked, imperious, or lawless* those Ministers were in the Exercise of their Power, that still they would not have *dared* to have deny'd this *Great Prince* his Claim of Right to sit in Parliament, had they ever *thought or intended* that He should one Day be *King of GREAT BRITAIN*, and sit on the *Throne of this Kingdom*.
Those

Those who deny'd him the *Right of His Peerage*, would as freely have deny'd Him his *Right of Succession*: And if they should ever have it in their Power, they would with *as little Scruple* deny him *his Seat in the Throne*, as they once deny'd Him *his Seat in the House of Lords*.





SINCE you have gone through the Task, which you undertook at my Desire, and have carried your *Remarks on the History of England* as far as you judge them necessary at this Time, I think my self obliged to return you Thanks for your Trouble, and to say something to you concerning the Clamour rais'd, and the Conduct held upon this Occasion, by *Those*, who not content with the Merit of being *your Adversaries*, have declared themselves such at last to the very Being of the *British Constitution*, and to the Principles on which the *present Establishment* is built, and on which alone it can stand secure.

The Manner in which *these Writers* have supported the Dispute between *You* and *them*, and the Explanations to which they have been push'd, confirm all the Suspicions which it was natural to entertain, when so great an Alarm was taken at the first direct Avowal of an Attempt to revive the *Spirit of Liberty*, and to recal to the Minds of Men the true Notions of the *British Constitution*. They were so earnest to discourage the Prosecution of such a Design; They were so eager to find Fault, where so little Fault was to be found, that they catch'd at every Word in which they imagin'd the least Slip had been made, though the Subject would not have been affected, nor the

the Merits of the Cause have been altered, if these Slips had been real, and had proceeded from my Ignorance, as the Objections proceeded from theirs.

I should not so much as mention this, if it was not necessary to shew that your real Crime, as well as mine, toward the *Persons* who encourage and direct *those Authors*, is our starting the *Subject*, not our *Manner* of treating it. Their Anger appeared, the Clamour of their Party was raised, and all the Powers of Scurrility and Calumny were call'd forth to their Aid, before any of those Pretences were found out, which they afterwards so meanly and so immorally employ'd against us. To prove this beyond the Contradiction of any Man of Sense and Candour, it will be only necessary to appeal to the whole Scope of my *first Letters* to you, which raised the Storm; for what do *those Letters* contain besides general and inoffensive Reflections on the Nature of *Liberty* and of *Faction*, and of the Necessity of keeping the *Spirit of Liberty* alive and active, even in Times of apparent Security? Your Writings were justified, indeed, in *these Letters*; but so they had been in *others*, and on many precedent Occasions. The Charge of *Jacobitism* was refuted, indeed, with the Contempt it deserved, and *factionous Designs* of another Kind were pointed out; but *factionous Designs* had been imputed to the *same Persons* before, and upon the same Grounds. It remains then, that this *new Alarm* was taken, as I just now said, at the general Design of *those Papers*; and if that was sufficient to give such an Alarm, sure I am, that you are more than justified for all you writ before this Dispute begun, and for all you have published in the Course of it.

The *old Gentleman*, who defended you in your *former Letters*, thought you deserved the Acknowledgments of every honest Man, for attempting to revive *this Spirit*, even supposing you to have no other Reason than your Observation, that a *contrary Temper* prevail'd. How much is this Reason enforced, how much more do you deserve the Acknowledgment of every honest Man, if it is become evident, not only that a *supine Temper*, contrary to the Activity of *this Spirit* had prevail'd; but that a *contrary Spirit* hath been raised, and that *Principles*, destructive of all *Liberty*, and particularly adapted to destroy that of the *British Government*, are avowed, taught and propagated?---- If I pronounced too hastily in my *second Letter*, that the *Mask was pulled off*, surely we may now say, upon Knowledge, not Belief, *that the Mask is fallen*

fallen off from your *Adversaries* in the Scuffle. I shall not repeat what is said in your Discourses, nor add any thing to them. You have there quoted the *Doctrines of Slavery*. You have shew'd the direct and indirect Tendency of them all; and you have remark'd that *some* of them have been taught even by *Those* who have in the same Breath admitted the *Consequences* of them. Nothing less therefore than a *constant and vigorous Opposition*, of which you have set us the Example, will be able to stop the Progress of those *pernicious Doctrines*. The *Principles* which King *James I.* establish'd, were not more absurd than *these*. Their Tendency was more obvious; but, for that Reason they were less dangerous. If *those Principles* prevail'd very far by Time and Encouragement, and had like to have prevail'd farther; why should not *these* have the same, or greater Success? It may be said, perhaps, that the Authority of the *Crown* help'd the Progress of the *former*, which is not our *present Case*. To this Distinction I shall submit very readily; but if *these Principles* have gain'd some Ground already (and that they have gain'd some, cannot be deny'd) without *this Authority* to enforce them; is there not Reason to fear that they may gain more, and is not every Degree they gain a Degree more of Danger to this Constitution of Government?--- Surely Mr. *D'Anvers*, there can remain no Doubt in the Breast of any Man, who hath given the least Attention to the Disputes between *You* and your *Adversaries*, whether *They* or *You* are on the Side of *Liberty*; and therefore it is an Aggravation of their Guilt, that they have endeavoured to make your *Writings* pass for an Opposition to the *present, happy Establishment*, and their *Cause* for that of the *Crown*. You and I have sufficiently declared our selves, and answered them on the *first Head*. If they had been able to produce an Instance, where, departing from your *Subject*, you had given Occasion to draw any *odious Parallel*, the Intention of drawing such a *Parallel* might, with some Colour, have been imputed to *You*; but since they have not been able to do this, and have been defied to do it, the Reproach and Infamy of making *such Parallels*, as well as the scandalous Immorality of imputing them to others, must lye at their Door.--- Let us see how well their Pretensions are supported on the *second Head*, and whether we cannot prove, without any forc'd Constructions of their Words, or arbitrary Interpretations of their Meaning, that the open and secret Abettors of *these Writers* are either Enemies of the *present Establishment*,

or have some *private Interest* more at Heart than the true Interest of *this Establishment*.

This Establishment is founded on the Principles of *Liberty*; on the very Principles you have maintained. It was made by the People of *Great Britain*, to secure the Possession of their *Liberty*, as well as their *Religion*. Had contrary Principles prevail'd; either those, which tend to subvert the Constitution, by raising *Prerogative*, and which were justly objected to some of the *Tories* formerly; or those which tend to subvert it, by undermining *Liberty*, and which are as justly objected to some of the *Whigs* now; *this Establishment* could never have been made. Who are *Enemies* and who are *Friends* therefore to *publick Liberty*, and to the *present Establishment*? Are you their Enemy, who defend not only the general Principles of *Liberty*, but the particular Principles, and the particular Ends, on which, and for which *this Establishment* was made? Are *your Adversaries* Friends, to either, when they only seem to admit some general Notions of *Liberty*, that they may promote with greater Effect, on particular Occasions, the Doctrine of *Slavery*; and when they endeavour to destroy the Principles, and defeat the Ends of the *present Establishment*? The *Revolution*, and the *Acts of Settlement*, have secured us against the Dangers which were formerly apprehended from *Prerogative*. To what Purpose are *Measures*, and Principles of *Policy* daily pleaded for, which would expose us to greater Danger than *these*? Why are such incessant Pains taken to shew by what Means *Liberty* may be undermined, and our *Constitution* destroyed, even now, after all we have done, and all we have suffered to secure *one*, and to improve the *other*? I shall not give particular Answers to these Questions; nor offer to assign the private Interest, which the *Persons*, who are guilty of this, may have at Heart; for I will, upon no Occasion, even seem to follow the Example of *your Adversaries*; nor presume to deliver my Suspicions, though real and well grounded, as the Intentions of other Men. This alone I will repeat; that they who argue, and hire others to argue in this Manner, do in Fact promote some Interest, which is repugnant to the Ends for which the People of this Nation establish'd the *Protestant Succession*, and the *present Settlement of the Crown*. They have not yet attack'd the *Religion*, but they manifestly attack the *Liberty* of their Country; and as much as these Two are interwoven together, though it be true, that whenever our *Religion* is in Danger, our

civil Liberty must be so likewise; yet it is as true that *Religion* may be safe and *civil Liberty* in Danger.

I have nothing more to add upon *this Head*, before I proceed to That, which shall conclude my Letter, except my Desires that you will persist, and my Hopes that you will succeed in the *Cause* you have undertaken; the Cause of your *Country*; the Cause of *Truth* and of *Liberty*. The Means you employ are Those of *Argument* and *Persuasion*; the lawful, and the sole lawful Means, which can be employed to rouse an indolent, to inform a deceived, to reclaim a corrupt, or to reconcile a divided People. Let the *Factions* continue to assert, as they have had already the Impudence and the Folly to do, in one of their *ministerial Pamphlets*, that the Faults They are pleased to ascribe to the People of *Great Britain* * render an *ARMY* necessary. Instead of endeavouring to *persuade* and to *win*, let them endeavour to *force* and *corrupt* their Countrymen. The *Spirit of Liberty* abhors such Means, and the *Cause of Liberty* would be dishonour'd by them. If this Nation was as *corrupt* and *depraved* as it is said to be by *Those*, who do their utmost to *corrupt* and *deprave* it; if our Country was in that *declining State*, and the *Freedom of our Government* as near its Period as They affirm, there would remain no Part for any honest Man to take, except that of sitting silently down and perishing in the common Shipwreck: But surely this is not yet our Case, nor will it become our Case, unless we are induced to believe it so; unless we make our Ruin irretrievable by struggling no longer against it. There are Men, many We think, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, nor worship'd the *brazen Image*. We may therefore hope that there is still a Blessing in Store for us. In all Events, Mr. *D'Anvers*, you are sure of one Advantage, which no Violence, no Injustice can take from you; the inward Satisfaction of having serv'd your Country, to the utmost of your Power, by those *lawful Means*, which the Constitution of its Government allows, and by *no others*.

If I hear in that Retreat, to which Age, the Circumstances of Fortune, and, above all, the Temper of my Mind determines me, that you succeed, I shall rejoice in the common Joy. If I hear that you fail, my Concern for you will be lost in the common Calamity.

The Article with which I purpose to conclude my Letter, is of such a Nature that I cannot omit it, on this Oc-

* See *Some Observations on the present State of Affairs.*

casion, with any Regard to Truth, Justice, Honour, and the Sentiments of a most reasonable Indignation. The Writers, who are employed against you, have received, with an unlimited Commission to rail, particular Instructions to direct their *Billingsgate* chiefly at *two Gentlemen*. The Art of blackening Characters, by private Closet Whispers hath been always practised, when Power and Confidence hath been given to the *insolent* and the *base*. Perhaps it may have been thought proper, at this Time, to confirm the Effects of such Insinuations by an Echo from the PRESS, and to prevent a general, national Clamour from sounding in *some Ears*, by raising an artificial Clamour round about them; but whatever the Design may have been, sure I am, that this Strain of Malice could not have been employed against Men, who value it less, or who hold in greater Contempt both the Contrivance and the Contrivers. This *They* may do, because They are falsely and maliciously accused; but *He*, who is the Object of a just Clamour, and of national Hatred, and who cannot turn his Eyes on Himself without confessing to Himself that He is a principle Cause of the Grievances of his Country, must tremble at a Clamour, which He knows ought, and which he hath Reason to fear will, sooner or later, prevail against Him.

The Calumny against *one* of the Gentlemen, mentioned above, is confin'd to *two Heads*; that He hath left *his Friends and Party*, and that He is urged to *oppose the M——r* by the Stings of disappointed Ambition. How ridiculous is the Charge, and on whom can such Stuff impose? Hath He changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government? Hath He renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly profess'd? His greatest Enemy is defy'd to shew that He hath; and yet unless This can be shewn, nothing can be more impertinent, or more silly than the Imputation of leaving his *Friends and Party*. If He pursues the same general Principles of Conduct, with which he first set out, and is in Opposition now to some few of *Those*, with whom He concurred then, *They* have left Him, because They have left the *Principles* They professed. *He* left *neither*. For Instance, He inveighs against *publick Profusion* and *private Corruption*. He combats *both* with a constant Inflexibility, which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen*, in the best Times of that Commonwealth. Hath He left his *Friends* in doing This? No; *They*, who opposed Him in it, have left both *Him* and *Virtue*; and *such Men*, tho'

they have sometimes had the Honour to concur with *Him*, could never be his *Friends*.

Is the *latter Part* of the Charge better founded? Is it not a manifest begging of the Question, and a begging of it on the least probable Side? He assisted a *M——r* to rise to Power. He opposes *this M——r* in Power. *Ergo*, *Spight* and *Resentment* are his Motives. May not the *Abuse*, which He apprehends *this M——r* makes of his *Power*, may not *Measures*, which He fears are wicked, knows are weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives? May not *dangerous Ambition*, *insatiable Avarice* and *insolent Behaviour* be his Provocations? May not *this Gentleman* think Himself the more obliged to contribute to *this M——r's* Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation? Let me ask farther, *whom* We shall soonest suspect to have been actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*; the *Person accus'd*, or his *Accuser*? *whose Circumstances* most demanded, *whose Family* most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune; Those of the *Accused*, or Those of the *Accuser*? *Who* hath given greater Proofs of *Avarice* to gather, and *Profusion* to squander; the *Accused*, or the *Accuser*? In *Whom* have We seen strongest Evidences of that *vindictive Temper*, which prompts to *personal Spight* and *Resentment*? In the *Accused*, or the *Accuser*?——If we may form any Judgment of the *Gentleman accused*, there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that his *Opposition* proceeds from a Spirit of *Ambition*, or a Design of pushing himself into the *Administration*. He hath already possessed *two very considerable Employments* in the State; *one* of which He voluntarily laid down, as by his Conduct in *Parliament*, against some Measures of the *Court*, He forced the *Ministers* to take the *other* away, having behaved with unsported Integrity in *both*; and if I am rightly inform'd of his Resolution by Those, who seem to know him very well, it will hardly be ever in the Power of the greatest Man in *England*, or the best Friend he has in the World, to persuade him to accept of a *Third*.——There is an *Ambition*, with which *these Spreaders of Calumny* and their *Masters* are intirely unacquainted; the *Ambition* of *doing Good*, and receiving the Reward in *Fame*. He, who hath *this Ambition*, can never be disappointed in the *other*; and if any Man, in our Age and Country hath Reason to be satisfied with his Success in the Pursuit of *this Ambition*, it is the *Gentleman* of whom We speak.

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Whenever the *Defamation* which hath been *display'd* against the other *Gentleman*, is examined with the least Knowledge of Facts, or the least Impartiality of Judgment, it will appear equally false, and, perhaps, still more scandalous; for in *this Case*, the *Slanderers* take an ungenerous and mean Advantage, which they have not in the *other*; the Advantage which his singular Situation gives them. They, who would have declin'd a Contest with him, whilst he was in a Condition to answer for Himself, have not blush'd to declaim against him in another Condition. They have experienc'd in *his Case*, that the *Unfortunate* are not *friendless*. They may live, perhaps, to experience in *their own*, that the *guilty* are so.--- Another Advantage which *these Slanderers* take against *this Gentleman*, arises from the various Scenes of Life, through which he hath pass'd; some distant in Place; some secret in their Nature. Here Calumny hath more Room to assert, and Innocence less Opportunity to defend. Common Honesty in some Cases, and even Decency in others, shut the Mouth of the Man who carries these Qualities about him; and even more in his *own Cause* than in That of *another Person*; but Calumny is subject to none of these Controuls; and We speak on our own Knowledge, when we affirm that, in the *present Case*, the false Imputations, which the *Accusers* bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the *Accused*.

Let us take Notice of some of the Crimes (for Crimes and heinous Crimes They would be, if the Facts were, in any Degree, true) which are laid to the Charge of *this Gentleman*.

His *Ingratitude and Treachery* to the late Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin stand first in the Roll. I believe no Man acknowledges more sincerely than He, the superior Merit of these *two illustrious Men*, or wishes more ardently that They were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of *Great Britain*; but I know no *Obligation of Gratitude*, or *Honour*, which he lay under to continue in their Administration, when the Measures of it were *alter'd*. They might have Reasons, perhaps good Reasons, for *altering their Measures*. He could have none in Point of *Honour*, whatever He might have had in Point of *Interest*, for complying with *that Alteration*. Some of the Enemies of *this Gentleman* came into the World on such a Foot, that they might think it Preferment to be the *Creatures of*
any

any Men in Power. He who came into it upon *another Foot*, was the *Friend*, but not the *Creature* of these great *Men*, and he hath had the Satisfaction of proving himself such on different Occasions, and without Ostentation, at least to *one* of them, at a Time when the *Creatures of great Men* usually renounce them; at a Time, when they could do him neither Good nor Hurt. That he came to Court on the Call of the *late Queen*, in Opposition to *them*, and exerted himself in her Service, when they serv'd her no longer, will not be objected to him by any Man who thinks more Allegiance due to the *Prince* than to the *Minister*. If the present *M——r* hath a Mind to avow a contrary Doctrine, he hath my Consent; but then let those who engage with him remember on what Terms they engage.— On the same false Principle is another *Accusation* brought. This *Gentleman* had no Patron, or Patroness, but the *late Queen*. He neither *projected*, nor *procured the Disgrace* of her last *Minister*, nor knew that it was resolved, whatever he might suspect, till he heard from herself that it was so. Much more might be said on this Article; but we chuse to pass it over for many Reasons, and, among others, for this; that whilst we defend the *Living*, we are unwilling to say any thing, which might be drawn by *these Slanderers* into an Insult on the *Dead*.

The last Charge of *Ingratitude* brought against *this Gentleman*, is hard to be answered seriously. Thus much however shall be said truly and seriously. He acknowledges, with the deepest Sense of Gratitude possible, the Clemency and Goodness of his *late Majesty*; but sure he hath Reason, if ever Man had Reason, to disclaim all Obligation to the *M——r*. The Mercy of the *late King* was extended unto him unasked and unearn'd. What followed many Years afterwards, in Part of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, was due solely to the *King*. That they were not fulfilled, was due solely to the *M-----r*. His Ambition, his causeless Jealousy, and private Interest, continued a sort of *Proscription*, with much Cruelty to the *Person* concerned, and little Regard to the Declarations which his *Royal Master* had been pleased so frequently to make.

That *this Gentleman* was engaged in the Cause of the *Pretender*, is true. That he served him unfaithfully, is false. He never enter'd into *these Engagements*, or *any Commerce with him*, till he had been *attainted*, and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. He never had

had *any Commerce*, either direct or indirect, which was inconsistent with *these Engagements*, whilst he continued in them; and since he was out of them, he hath had no *Commerce* either direct or indirect, in Favour of *that Cause*. On such an Occasion as this it is decent, not arrogant, to challenge all Mankind. I do it therefore in the Behalf of *this Gentleman*, to produce one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations. For the Truth of some, I may appeal even to *those* who have been in the Service of his *late*, and are in that of his *present Majesty*; and particularly to a *noble Lord*, who, by the Post he was in, when most of these Transactions passed, must have had the best Opportunities of knowing the Truth of them, and by whose Testimony I am willing that the *Gentleman* I defend should stand or fall; a Decision to which, I am sure, he himself will be ready to submit his Life, and, what is more, his Honour.

I make you no excuse for the Length of my Letter. The Justice I have done, or endeavour'd to do to *those* who have been vilely calumniated, and particularly on the Occasion of *your Writings*, and of *mine*, will be a sufficient Excuse of itself.

I am,

SIR,

H. OLDCASTLE.

F I N I S.